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**The Structure of Sexist Attitudes:  
Stereotypes, Emotions, Symbolic Beliefs, and Ambivalence**

**Bernadette Campbell**

**B. A. (Honours), University of Windsor, 1993**

**Windsor, Ontario, Canada**

**A Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
through the Department of Psychology  
in Partial Fulfilment of  
the Requirements for  
the Degree of Master of Arts  
at the University of Windsor**

**Windsor, Ontario, Canada  
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## ABSTRACT

The present investigation examined whether stereotypes, emotions, and symbolic beliefs associated with three female subtypes (feminists, housewives, and sexually promiscuous women) can explain attitudes toward each subtype. All three factors were needed to explain attitudes toward 'feminists', whereas only stereotypes and symbolic beliefs were required to explain attitudes toward 'housewives'. Attitudes toward 'sexually promiscuous women' could be explained solely by stereotypes. Thus, gender-related attitudes appear to be particularly complex toward groups struggling to promote equality for women. Indeed, scores on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) (Glick & Fiske, 1996) were associated with attitudes toward 'feminists' but not with attitudes toward 'housewives' or 'sexually promiscuous women'.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Research on the nature of prejudice has a long history in social psychology (Allport, 1958; Devine, 1989; Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson & Gaertner, 1996; Esses, Haddock & Zanna, 1993; Rokeach, 1968; Tajfel, 1969; Zanna, 1994). But simply measuring the degree of prejudice assigned to a particular social group provides little information about the structure of such prejudice or its antecedents. By contrast, examinations of the factors that inform the prejudice provide a more complete picture, potentially a rich and detailed account of the nature of prejudice. Attempts to uncover the structure of prejudicial attitudes involve a process of definition and theory building, which leads to the identification of the proposed sources of prejudice. Clearly, the structure of any prejudicial attitude depends largely on how that attitude is defined or conceived.

Although most theories of prejudice are concerned with attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities, empirical investigations of gender-based prejudice have been pursued enthusiastically in recent years (Benson & Vincent, 1980; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Rombough & Ventimiglia, 1981; Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1973; Swim, Aikin, Hall & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton & Joly, 1995). Nonetheless, research in the area of sexism has been slow to address the determinants of sexist attitudes beyond the obvious: Compared to nonsexists, sexists are more likely to endorse a traditional gender role ideology and to perceive women in relation to female stereotypes (Benson & Vincent, 1980; Rombough & Ventimiglia, 1981; Spence et al., 1973). Few studies have investigated other factors that may play a role in the development and maintenance of

sexism, such as motivations, emotions, values, and past experiences.

### Limitations of Traditional Theories of Sexism

Theories of sexism that are limited in scope -- essentially equating gender-based prejudice with stereotypes about women -- led to empirical research that is similarly narrow in focus (Benson & Vincent, 1980; Collier & Williams, 1981; Jones & Jacklin, 1988; Rigby, 1988; Rombough & Ventimiglia, 1981; Spence et al., 1973). Sexism has been defined as "a prejudicial attitude or discriminatory behaviour based on the presumed inferiority or difference of women as a group" (Cameron, 1977, p. 340). Indeed, sexist attitudes have typically been equated with the extent to which an individual openly endorses traditional stereotypes of women and advocates restrictive, highly differentiated gender roles. Although stereotypical beliefs likely play a role in the development of gender-based prejudice, it is unlikely that stereotypes are the sole determinants of sexist attitudes.

### Contemporary Theories of Sexism

Recent investigations of sexism have pointed to the need to consider the role of social desirability in the expression of sexist attitudes. With the decline of overtly negative attitudes toward women (Mason & Lu, 1988; Myers, 1993), the concept of sexism has been reformulated to include covert or subtle forms of sexist prejudice (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1986; Swim & Cohen, 1997). Contemporary sexists continue to endorse traditional stereotypes of women and to support traditional gender roles, but they have found more sophisticated ways to express sexist attitudes to avoid appearing prejudiced. Although contemporary concepts of sexism have led to valuable insights concerning the

current expression of gender-based prejudices, they have added little to our understanding of the determinants of sexist attitudes. Moreover, examinations of the association between sexism and factors such as motivations, emotions, and values may be limited by theories of sexism that overemphasize parallels with racism. Indeed, the study of gender-based prejudice evolved from research in the area of racial and ethnic prejudice, assuming fundamental similarities between racism and sexism (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1996; Reid, 1988; Smith & Stewart, 1983).

Recent research into sexism borrows largely from racist models, essentially substituting 'women' for 'blacks' in racist attitude measures (Swim et al., 1995; Tougas et al., 1995). Following from the theory of modern racism (McConahay, 1986), the concept of *modern sexism* (Swim et al., 1995) is characterized by the sexist's *denial* of pervasive discrimination based on sex. Because sex-based discrimination is not considered to be a problem, demands for greater equality between the sexes are perceived to be unfair and illegitimate, resulting in unsympathetic responses or resistance to women's demands for equality.

A similar line of reasoning informs the concept of *neosexism* (Tougas et al., 1995), which is defined as a "manifestation of a conflict between egalitarian values and residual negative feelings toward women" (p. 843). Opposition to policies aimed at reducing gender inequalities (e.g., affirmative action) is a major correlate of neosexist attitudes. Because of social pressures to exhibit a non-prejudiced, egalitarian self-image, sexist attitudes are more likely to be expressed in a context where a presumably acceptable (i.e., non-prejudiced) explanation is available to justify the attitude. The expression of such

attitudes is especially likely when considering issues such as voting preferences (Swim et al., 1995) and hiring policies (Tougas et al., 1995), which provide sexist individuals with a means of resisting women's aspirations without necessarily admitting they believe that women are inferior to men.

Implicit in these contemporary theories of sexism is the contention that racism and sexism are similar constructs. Indeed, the process of stereotyping has been identified in both forms of prejudice; racism and sexism are manifested in institutional discrimination and result in similar psychological consequences for the target of discrimination (Smith & Stewart, 1983). Nonetheless, some researchers have questioned the legitimacy of making direct comparisons between racial and gender-based prejudices (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1996). Although many parallels exist between racism and sexism, direct comparisons may fail to capture elements of prejudice that are unique to sexism.

Attitudes toward women differ from attitudes toward minority groups in various ways. For example, concerns about maintaining an egalitarian self-image likely play a larger role in the expression of racist attitudes than in the expression of sexist attitudes. Indeed, "some would argue that people still are less fearful of and offended about being labelled 'sexist' than they are about being labelled 'racist'" (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1996, p. 377). Another important difference between racism and sexism involves the content of stereotypes that often serve to justify the prejudicial attitude. The tendency to endorse *positive* stereotypes of women has been well documented (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Eagly, Mladinic & Otto, 1991). In fact, women are often evaluated quite favourably, especially in terms of positive qualities thought to be typical of females (e.g., helpfulness,

compassion, empathy) (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Eagly et al., 1991). By contrast, racial stereotypes are consistently more negative (Smith & Stewart, 1983). It is important to note, however, that "groups who are seen as likable (grandmothers, daycare workers, perhaps women in general) are not especially respected" (Fiske & Ruscher, 1993, p.263).

The motivational basis for racism also differs from factors that motivate sexism (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1996). The high degree of cross-sex contact in our society is rarely matched by a similar degree of contact between different racial groups (Reid, 1988). An individual may be involved in a number of relationships with women (e.g., mother, sister, spouse, co-worker, boss), each characterized by different motivations and emotions. Because of the variety of motivational issues that characterize male-female interactions, gender-related attitudes are likely to be particularly complex (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1996; Fiske & Glick, 1995; Fiske & Ruscher, 1993; Glick & Fiske, 1996). In fact, the unique complexity of male-female relations makes it questionable whether *gender* can simply be substituted for *race* in theories of prejudicial attitudes. Similarly, the determinants of racist attitudes are not likely to adequately describe the factors underlying sexism.

### The Theory of Ambivalent Sexism

Although Glick and Fiske's (1996) theory of *ambivalent sexism* borrows from Katz, Wackenhut, and Hass' (1986) theory of ambivalent racism, it does not extrapolate directly from a racist model to derive a theory of sexism. Instead, the theory of ambivalent sexism incorporates motivational issues that are unique to gender-based prejudice, providing a framework for viewing sexism as a multidimensional attitude. According to Glick and Fiske (1996), motivations surrounding social power, gender



identity, and sexuality are manifested in gender-related attitudes that are typically complex and conflicted. Sexism can be manifested in the expression of either *benevolent* or *hostile* attitudes toward women. The "ambivalent" sexist simultaneously displays both of these attitudes toward women. Despite the fact that benevolent sexism may appear inherently positive, such attitudes are often experienced as patronizing and suggest that women are immature and incompetent (Fiske & Glick, 1995; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Benevolent sexism has its roots in women's dyadic power. Because men typically depend on women to fulfill their needs (e.g., those involving sexual reproduction, sexual intimacy, psychological intimacy, etc.), women possess power in dyadic relationships. Unlike other ingroup-outgroup relationships, this unique state of affairs leads to a situation where a less powerful group holds some advantage over the more dominant group. Benevolent sexism takes the form of protective attitudes toward women, reverence for women as nurturers, and romanticized concepts of women as love objects. By contrast, the view that women do not possess the qualities necessary to exercise power in legal, economic, and political domains is the hallmark of hostile sexism. Major contributors to hostile sexism include *gender polarization*, or the tendency to view the sexes as fundamentally different, and *androcentrism*, or the view that males are the ultimate standard by which everyone is measured (Bem, 1993).

The concepts of paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexual attraction can be manifested in benevolent or hostile forms. Whereas paternalism is often associated with male domination, it also connotes affection and protection. Dominative paternalism attributes child-like qualities to women, who are deemed to be less than fully competent

adults and therefore require a superior male figure to be their guide and to make decisions for them. Consistent with the medieval concept of "chivalry", the benevolent form of paternalism reflects the belief that women must be loved, treasured, and protected. Glick and Fiske (1996) attribute such chivalrous sentiments to men's dyadic dependence on women. Because women fulfill men's needs for intimacy and perform the necessary function of child rearing, they are revered and protected.

The tendency to see the world through the "lenses of gender" is a pervasive feature of Western culture (Bem, 1993). Believing the sexes to be fundamentally and essentially different is the defining characteristic of gender polarization, whereas androcentrism is defined as valuing stereotypically male characteristics over stereotypically female characteristics (Bem, 1993). Bem's (1993) description of gender polarization and androcentrism provides an interesting parallel to Glick and Fiske's (1996) concept of gender differentiation. On one hand, *complementary* gender differentiation reflects a focus on qualities that only women are thought to possess. As such, it is compatible with the view of men and women as polar opposites. The popular conception of women as the "fairer sex" typifies complementary gender differentiation. Qualities such as sensitivity to others' feelings are praised and admired in women as a necessary complement to men. On the other hand, *competitive* gender differentiation is more similar to androcentrism, in that it is characterized by a belief that only men have the necessary qualities to govern social institutions; women's domain should be the home or private sphere. Indeed, many men are not willing to concede any power to a group that has traditionally had very little.

Heterosexual attraction is one of the most powerful sources of men's ambivalent

motivations toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Needs for intimacy comprise the benevolent component of heterosexual attraction. The desire for psychological closeness is thought to be a primary motivator of sexual desires. In many cases, however, male heterosexual attraction is inseparable from men's desire to dominate women (Dworkin, 1987). Heterosexuality is culturally defined from a male perspective, such that women are viewed as objects of male sexual desire. Indeed, the eroticizing of sexual inequality is a major contributor to hostility toward women in heterosexual relationships (Bem, 1993; Jeffreys, 1990).

Glick and Fiske (1996) developed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) based on their theory of ambivalent sexism. The scale is comprised of two conceptually distinct subscales: one measuring hostile sexism, the other measuring benevolent sexism. Truly ambivalent sexists score high on both subscales. Across a variety of samples, administration of the ASI has revealed higher levels of ambivalent sexism among men than among women. Scores on the subscales are also linked to stereotypes about women. Whereas hostile sexism is associated with endorsement of negative stereotypes about women, benevolent sexist attitudes are correlated with ascribing positive stereotypes to women.

### Predictors of Gender-Based Prejudice

Because of the complexity of ambivalent sexism, one might wonder whether stereotypes alone provide an adequate explanation of the concept. Indeed, sexist attitudes are also likely to be informed by emotional responses toward women. For example, women who are perceived to be warm and nurturing may elicit feelings of love and

admiration. By contrast, an individual may feel hostile toward women who are perceived to be aggressive and out-spoken. Symbolic beliefs or values are also likely to influence sexist attitudes. Specifically, attitudes toward women may be affected by beliefs about how women promote or obstruct important social values. For example, women who adopt traditional roles such as that of a homemaker may be perceived as promoting values associated with the home and the family; women who reject traditional roles may be perceived to threaten those same values.

Indeed, ambivalent sexism appears to be a function of stereotypes, emotions, and symbolic beliefs (Glick, Diebold, Bailey & Zhu, 1996). Men who display high levels of hostile sexism tend to ascribe negative stereotypes to the category 'career women' (e.g., aggressive, selfish, cold) and to report negative emotions (e.g., fear, envy, intimidation), feeling that these women obstruct values associated with the home and the family. Evaluations of the category 'homemaker' reveal that men high in benevolent sexism view homemakers as caring, loving, and nurturant, and as promoting values associated with the family. Finally, hostile sexist men described the category 'sexy woman' using negative adjectives such as manipulative, devious, and conniving, which are characteristic of the "Eve" stereotype (i.e., women are perceived to seduce men, leading to their downfall).

Attitude theorists have recently explored the ability of cognitive, affective, and behavioural factors to predict intergroup attitudes (Esses et al., 1993; Haddock & Zanna, 1994; Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993). The influences of these factors differ as a function of the particular context, the individual characteristics of the perceiver, and which stigmatized group is being considered. For example, in an investigation of the relative

importance of values, emotions, and stereotypes as determinants of intergroup attitudes, Esses et al. (1993) reported that only emotions made a unique contribution to explaining attitudes toward French Canadians and Native Indians when examined jointly with stereotypes and values. For attitudes toward Pakistanis and homosexuals, however, symbolic beliefs were the best predictor. In both cases, although a significant simple association was observed between stereotypes and the attitude measures, this effect was no longer evident when differences in emotions and symbolic beliefs were held constant. Hence, symbolic beliefs may be most predictive of attitudes toward groups who are seen in a relatively unfavourable light, whereas emotions may be the best predictor of attitudes toward less stigmatized groups (Esses et al., 1993).

Other investigations into the structure of prejudicial attitudes have revealed similar results. Values, emotions, and past experiences predict attitudes toward homosexuals over and above the explanation provided by stereotypes alone (Haddock et al., 1993). An examination of the structure of attitudes toward feminists as a function of right-wing authoritarianism revealed that symbolic beliefs and emotions predicted attitudes of the most authoritarian participants, whereas stereotypes were the best predictor for participants who are less authoritarian (Haddock & Zanna, 1994). These findings represent a significant advance in discovering which sources of information dominate evaluations of social groups. Similarly, investigations focusing on determinants of attitudes toward women, especially as a function of ambivalent sexism, would represent a worthwhile contribution to the emerging literature on contemporary gender-based prejudice.

Assessing attitudes toward women "in general" ignores the tendency of individuals to distinguish between subtypes of women. Indeed, beliefs about gender are typically organized in terms of specific subtypes, which are represented at different levels of specificity (Ashmore, Delboca & Wohlers, 1986; Deaux, 1995; Noseworthy & Lott, 1984; Six & Eckes, 1991). Previous investigations into the cognitive organization of gender stereotypes reveal that participants tend to spontaneously identify a number of specific subcategories of women and men (Deaux, Winton, Crowley & Lewis, 1985; Glick et al., 1996; Noseworthy & Lott, 1984; Six & Eckes, 1991).

For women, there appear to be three basic stereotypical subtypes: the nontraditional woman (e.g., feminist, career woman), the traditional woman (e.g., housewife), and the woman characterized by sexual behaviours (e.g., tart, vamp) (Six & Eckes, 1991). These subtypes tend to be evaluated differently (Haddock & Zanna, 1994; Glick et al., 1996). For example, Haddock and Zanna (1994) found that feminists were rated least favourably among six subcategories of women, whereas housewives were considered the most favourable. Consistent with the recommendations of several investigators in the area of gender-related attitudes (Ashmore, 1981; Deaux, 1995; Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Taylor, 1981), the present study will investigate attitudes toward distinct stereotypical subcategories of women: feminists, housewives, and sexually promiscuous women. Because participants from samples of undergraduates may be particularly reluctant to evaluate "women in general", research concerning ambivalent attitudes toward women is likely to benefit from an appraisal of attitudes toward specific stereotypical subtypes (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The nature of sexist ambivalence makes it

especially likely that respondents who simultaneously endorse hostile and benevolent attitudes will differentiate between the kinds of women they like and those they do not (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 1996).

Determinants of prejudicial attitudes differ across stigmatized groups and as a function of individual differences, such as right-wing authoritarianism (Esses et al., 1993; Haddock & Zanna, 1994; Haddock et al., 1993). The purpose of the present study is to examine the relative contributions of stereotyping, emotions, and values to the prediction of attitudes toward stereotypical subtypes of women, and to determine whether such associations are related to ambivalent sexism. The paucity of research in the area of contemporary sexist attitudes highlights the need for an examination of the determinants of such attitudes. A more complete insight into the primary sources of sexist attitudes could inform strategies to effect positive changes.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHOD

#### Participants

Participants were 69 female and 55 male students enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses at the University of Windsor who were recruited to participate in a study on perceptions of social groups. All were given partial course credit for their participation. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 49 years ( $M=23.36$ ,  $SD=4.71$ ) and 25% were of non-European ancestry. When asked to classify their political viewpoint, 80% considered themselves to be "very liberal" or "liberal"; the remainder were "conservative" or "very conservative". When asked about frequency of attendance at religious services, 18%, 13%, 42%, and 27% said that they attended weekly or more often, monthly, yearly, and never, respectively. Ninety-four percent classified their sexual orientation as heterosexual (i.e., as "6" or "7" on a 7-point scale).

#### Measures

Attitudes toward three target groups (typical feminists, typical housewives, and sexually promiscuous women) were assessed using an *evaluation thermometer* (Esses et al., 1993; Haddock et al., 1993; Haddock & Zanna, 1995). Specifically, participants indicated their overall evaluation of the target group on a scale ranging from "extremely unfavourable" (0) to "extremely favourable" (100).

Measures of stereotypes, symbolic beliefs, and affect were based on those used previously (Esses et al., 1993; Haddock et al., 1993; Haddock & Zanna, 1995). To assess stereotypes, participants were asked to list characteristics or phrases that they would use



to describe 'typical feminists', 'typical housewives', and 'sexually promiscuous women'.

After compiling a list, participants were asked to assign a rating to each characteristic on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "very negative" (-2) to "very positive" (+2).

Finally, participants were asked to indicate the percentage of group members that they believed would possess each characteristic listed. Following Esses et al. (1993), a stereotype score was then calculated by multiplying each rating by the proportion of members thought to exhibit each characteristic, summing these products, and then dividing by the total number of items listed. The stereotype scores reflect the average evaluation of characteristics thought to be typical of each subtype, weighted by the proportion of group members thought to possess the characteristics (Zanna, 1994).

Symbolic beliefs were measured by having respondents indicate cherished values or traditions they feel are either promoted or blocked by 'typical feminists', 'typical housewives', and 'sexually promiscuous women'. The values listed were then rated by participants on a scale ranging from "almost always blocked" (-2) to "almost always facilitated" (+2). Participants also indicated the percentage of group members thought to facilitate or obstruct the attainment of the values listed. A symbolic-belief score was calculated in the same manner as the stereotype score. The symbolic-belief score represents the average extent to which typical group members are believed to facilitate or block cherished customs and traditions, weighted by the proportion of group members deemed responsible for promoting or obstructing important social values (Zanna, 1994).

A measure of affect was obtained by asking respondents to list the emotions they experience when they see, meet, or think about 'typical feminists', 'typical housewives', and

'sexually promiscuous women'. The valence of each emotion was then described by each respondent using a scale ranging from "very negative" (-2) to "very positive" (+2), and the percentage of typical group members who elicit each emotion was reported. An affect score was calculated in the same manner as the stereotype and symbolic-belief scores. The affect score indicates the average evaluation of emotions produced by typical group members, weighted by the proportion of members reported to provoke such emotional responses (Zanna, 1994).

All participants completed the 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), which is comprised of two subscales measuring Hostile Sexism (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS). Responses to individual items range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree), with higher scores indicating more sexist attitudes. Thus, higher scores on the HS subscale indicate elevated levels of antagonism toward women, whereas higher scores on the BS subscale indicate more "benevolent" attitudes toward women.

Participants could respond in culturally normative ways, which raises concerns about the validity of attitude measures. In order to investigate this possibility, a short version of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Reynolds, 1982) was used to assess participants' tendency to provide socially acceptable responses. Finally, respondents completed a brief demographic questionnaire. All measures are included in Appendix A.

### Procedure

Participants completed the survey materials in groups of five or fewer. They were seated apart from each other and assured of confidentiality. Each evaluation thermometer

and its corresponding stereotype, affect, and symbolic-belief measures were treated as a set. Within each set, the evaluation thermometer was presented first, followed by a random ordering of the stereotype, affect, and symbolic-belief measures. The order of presentation of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and the sets of measures corresponding to each female subtype was also randomized separately for each participant. Finally, participants completed the social desirability measure and the demographic questionnaire. Consent forms were collected separately from the questionnaires. A copy of the consent form is provided in Appendix B. Upon completion of the survey materials, participants were fully informed of the purposes of the study. See Appendix C for the debriefing information.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESULTS

Preliminary analyses revealed that the Social Desirability scale was not associated with any of the other measures so the scale was not considered further.

#### Evaluation Thermometers

Attitudes toward the three stereotypical female subtypes (typical feminists, typical housewives, and sexually promiscuous women) were assessed using a 101-point evaluation thermometer, with higher scores indicating more favourable evaluations. The mean attitude scores for each female subtype are provided in Table 1 separately for male and female participants. A repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with one within-subjects factor (3 levels corresponding to the female subtypes) and one between-subjects factor (gender) was used to examine differences in participants' scores. The main effect of female subtype was significant,  $F(2,222)=40.76$ ,  $p<.001$ . Post hoc comparisons revealed that 'sexually promiscuous women' were rated less favourably than 'typical feminists',  $t(112)=6.06$ ,  $p<.001$ , and 'typical housewives',  $t(112)=8.70$ ,  $p<.001$ , and that 'typical feminists' were rated less favourably than 'typical housewives',  $t(112)=2.80$ ,  $p<.01$ .

Although the main effect of gender was not significant, an interaction between gender and female subtype was discovered,  $F(2,222)=12.76$ ,  $p<.001$ , indicating that the pattern of evaluations across subtypes differed according to participants' gender. Follow-up tests examining the nature of the interaction revealed that 'feminists' were rated more favourably by women than by men,  $t(113)=2.80$ ,  $p<.01$ , whereas 'sexually promiscuous women' were rated more favourably by men than by women,  $t(113)=3.80$ ,  $p<.001$ . There

Table 1

Mean Evaluations of 'Typical Feminists', 'Typical Housewives', and 'Sexually Promiscuous Women'

Subtype	Women (n=69)		Men (n=55)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Feminists	59.00	18.21	48.10	23.62
Housewives	62.77	19.71	60.49	23.80
Sexually Promiscuous	28.92	20.80	45.20	25.17

N.B. The possible range for scores was from 0 to 100.

was no gender difference in evaluations of 'typical housewives'.

### Stereotypes, Symbolic Beliefs, and Affective Responses

Intercorrelations among scores on the stereotype, symbolic-belief, and affective-response measures are provided in Table 2 (male participants) and Table 3 (female participants) separately for each female subtype. For men, the affect, stereotype, and symbolic-belief scores were positively correlated for each subtype (Table 2). The same results were found for women (Table 3), except that the correlation between affect and symbolic beliefs failed to reach significance for the 'sexually promiscuous' subtype.

Typical Feminists. Mean stereotype, symbolic-belief, and affective-response scores associated with 'typical feminists' are provided in the top panel of Table 4. To test for differences in the scores, a 2 (gender) x 3 (stereotype, symbolic belief, affective response) repeated-measures ANOVA was performed on participants' scores for 'typical feminists'. The main effect testing differences among the three scores was significant,  $F(2,232)=43.87$ ,  $p<.001$ . Affect scores were significantly more negative than both stereotype scores,  $t(117)=3.14$ ,  $p<.005$ , and symbolic-belief scores,  $t(117)=8.02$ ,  $p<.001$ , and stereotype scores were more negative than symbolic beliefs,  $t(117)=6.16$ ,  $p<.001$ .

The main effect of gender was also significant,  $F(1,116)=10.17$ ,  $p<.005$ . As shown in Table 4, men were more negative on all three measures. The interaction between gender and scores indicated, however, that the size of the gender difference varied across the measures,  $F(2,232)=4.86$ ,  $p<.01$ . Affect scores were significantly more positive for women than for men,  $t(119)=4.27$ ,  $p<.001$ , whereas women were marginally more favourable on the stereotype measure,  $t(119)=1.84$ ,  $p=.068$ . There was no gender

Table 2

Correlations Among Predictor Variables: Men (n=55)

Feminists		
	Affect	Symbolic beliefs
Stereotypes	0.47***	0.50***
Affect	0.30*	
Housewives		
	Affect	Symbolic beliefs
Stereotypes	0.40**	0.65***
Affect	0.37*	
Sexually Promiscuous Women		
	Affect	Symbolic beliefs
Stereotypes	0.69***	0.60***
Affect	0.69***	

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .005$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3

Correlations Among Predictor Variables: Women (n=69)

Feminists		
	Affect	Symbolic beliefs
Stereotype	0.74**	0.49**
Affect	0.54**	
Housewives		
	Affect	Symbolic beliefs
Stereotype	0.60**	0.54**
Affect	0.71**	
Sexually Promiscuous Women		
	Affect	Symbolic beliefs
Stereotype	0.36*	0.37*
Affect	0.21	

\*  $p < .005$ , \*\*  $p < .001$



Table 4

Mean Stereotype, Affect, and Symbolic-belief Scores For Men and Women Across Three Female Subtypes

Variable	Women (n=69)		Men (n=55)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
<u>Feminists</u>				
Stereotypes	0.41	0.70	0.17	0.74
Affect	0.38	0.79	-0.24	0.79
Symbolic Beliefs	0.76	0.81	0.58	0.68
<u>Housewives</u>				
Stereotypes	0.51	0.65	0.41	0.77
Affect	0.25	0.75	0.47	0.72
Symbolic Beliefs	0.46	0.81	0.43	0.87
<u>Sexually Promiscuous Women</u>				
Stereotypes	-0.50	0.68	-0.27	0.84
Affect	-0.52	0.68	-0.13	0.79
Symbolic Beliefs	-0.70	0.80	-0.16	0.86

N.B. Possible range for stereotype, affect and symbolic-belief scores is -2 to +2.

difference for symbolic beliefs.

Typical Housewives. The middle panel of Table 4 presents the mean stereotype, symbolic-belief, and affective-response scores associated with 'typical housewives'. A repeated-measures ANOVA revealed that scores on the stereotype, symbolic-belief, and affective-response measures did not differ. Moreover, the effect of gender was not significant nor was the two-way interaction. As shown in Table 4, all of the scores were generally positive.

Sexually Promiscuous Women. As shown in the bottom panel of Table 4, stereotypes, symbolic beliefs, and emotions associated with 'sexually promiscuous women' were consistently negative. To investigate the possibility of differences among scores, a 2 (gender) x 3 (stereotype, symbolic belief, and affective response) repeated-measures ANOVA was performed. The analysis revealed a main effect of gender,  $F(1, 114) = 13.90$ ,  $p < .005$ , indicating that women's scores were significantly more negative than those of men. The remaining main effect and the interaction were not significant.

### Explaining Attitudes

Correlations between the stereotype, symbolic-belief, and affective-response scores and their corresponding attitude measures are presented in Table 5. All of the correlations were positive and statistically significant. In short, as attitudes toward the female subtypes improved, so did scores on the stereotype, symbolic-belief, and affective-response measures. Tests of differences in the strength of the associations based on gender proved to be non-significant.

To determine the relative importance of affective responses, stereotypes, and

Table 5

Correlations Between Predictor Variables and Attitude Measures

Predictor	Attitude Measure		
	Feminists	Housewives	Sexually Promiscuous
Stereotype	0.65	0.48	0.57
Affect	0.62	0.40	0.43
Symbolic Belief	0.51	0.55	0.42

N.B. all  $ps < .001$

symbolic beliefs in explaining attitudes toward the female subtypes, a multiple regression analysis was performed for each subtype. In each case, a dummy variable representing respondents' gender was included in the regression model to partial out differences due to gender. The results of the analyses are summarized in Table 6.

Stereotypes, symbolic beliefs, and emotions each made a significant unique contribution to explaining attitudes toward 'typical feminists'. Stereotypes and symbolic beliefs were significant in explaining attitudes toward 'typical housewives', whereas only stereotypes made a significant unique contribution in explaining attitudes toward 'sexually promiscuous women'.

#### Ambivalent Sexism

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and its component subscales had good internal reliability (ASI:  $\alpha=.87$ ; BS:  $\alpha=.78$ ; HS:  $\alpha=.88$ ). Although the two subscales were significantly and positively correlated among women in our sample,  $r=0.57$ ,  $p<.001$ , they were independent among men,  $r=0.18$ ,  $p=.20$ .

Table 7 provides the mean scores on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and its component subscales separately for men and for women. To examine the possibility of gender differences in ambivalent sexism, a 2 (gender) x 2 (ASI subscale) repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted. The main effect of gender was significant,  $F(1,110)=7.16$ ,  $p<.01$ , indicating that men scored higher on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory subscales compared to women. There was no difference between HS and BS scores, and the interaction between gender and the two subscales was not significant.

Table 6

Simultaneous Multiple Regressions Using Stereotypes, Symbolic Beliefs, and Affective Responses to Predict Attitudes Toward Stereotypical Subtypes of Women

		Unstandardized regression coefficient (b)	Proportion of variance explained
Female Subtype	Variable		
Typical Feminists	Stereotypes	10.43****	.06
	Symbolic Beliefs	6.81**	.04
	Affect	6.54*	.03
	Gender	-3.20	.00
	Multiple R=.72, N=103 , p<.001		
Typical Housewives	Stereotypes	6.70*	.03
	Symbolic Beliefs	9.14***	.07
	Affect	3.09	.00
	Gender	-0.76	.00
	Multiple R=.59, N=103, p<.001		
Sexually Promiscuous			
Women	Stereotypes	14.45****	.12
	Symbolic Beliefs	2.09	.00
	Affect	3.03	.01
	Gender	9.26*	.03
	Multiple R=.64, N=101, p<.001		

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .005$ , \*\*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 7

Mean Scores on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI), the Hostile Sexism Subscale (HS) and the Benevolent Sexism Subscale (BS)

Scale	Women (n=69)		Men (n=55)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
ASI	2.85	0.82	3.23	0.64
HS	2.73	0.95	3.23	0.92
BS	2.96	0.91	3.24	0.74

N.B. Possible range for scores is 1 to 6.

Ambivalent Sexism and Attitudes Toward Female Subtypes As shown in Table 8, ambivalent sexism scores were significantly and negatively correlated with attitudes toward 'feminists' as measured by the evaluation thermometer. ASI scores were also negatively correlated with stereotype scores, symbolic-belief scores, and affective-response scores, for 'typical feminists'. Ambivalent sexism scores were not related to attitudes toward 'typical housewives', attitudes toward 'sexually promiscuous women', or to the stereotype, symbolic-belief, and affective-response scores for either subtype. To test for associations between the ASI subscales and the attitudes, stereotypes, affective responses, and symbolic beliefs associated with each subtype, separate correlations were calculated for each subscale (Table 8). Partial correlations were used to obtain "pure" measures of hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick & Fiske, 1997). Hostile sexism scores were significantly and negatively correlated with evaluations of 'feminists', and with the stereotype, affective-response, and symbolic-belief scores for 'feminists'. Benevolent sexism scores were significantly and negatively correlated with stereotype scores for 'feminists'. For 'sexually promiscuous women', hostile sexism scores were positively correlated with symbolic-belief scores. Neither subscale was related to scores for 'typical housewives'.

To assess whether ambivalent sexism scores would improve the explanation of attitudes toward the female subtypes beyond that provided by stereotypes, emotions, and symbolic beliefs, ASI scores were added to the regression models reported in Table 6. Ambivalent sexism scores significantly improved the explanation of attitudes toward 'feminists',  $\underline{SR}^2=.04$ ,  $F_{inc}(1,97)=8.76$ ,  $p<.01$ .. By contrast, the models predicting attitudes

Table 8

Correlations of ASI Scales with Attitude, Stereotype, Affective-response, and Symbolic-belief Scores across Subtypes

Variable	ASI Scale		
	ASI	HS <sup>a</sup>	BS <sup>b</sup>
<u>Feminists</u>			
Attitude	-0.48***	-0.63***	-0.17
Stereotype	-0.36***	-0.56***	-0.23*
Affect	-0.40***	-0.44***	-0.02
Symbolic Belief	-0.27**	-0.31**	-0.03
<u>Housewives</u>			
Attitude	0.13	0.01	0.13
Stereotype	-0.07	-0.12	0.00
Affect	0.02	0.02	0.04
Symbolic Belief	0.12	0.05	0.08
<u>Sexually Promiscuous</u>			
Attitude	0.06	0.12	0.01
Stereotype	0.05	0.11	-0.07
Affect	0.07	0.15	-0.09
Symbolic Belief	0.05	0.20*	-0.16

<sup>a</sup> Partial correlations controlling for BS ; <sup>b</sup> Partial correlations controlling for HS

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$



toward 'housewives' and 'sexually promiscuous women' were unaffected by the inclusion of ambivalent sexism scores. For each of the female subtypes, subsequent inclusion of interaction terms (i.e., ASI X stereotypes, ASI X emotions, ASI X symbolic beliefs) failed to improve the explanatory power of the regression models.

Evaluation Thermometers. To explore further the possibility of differences in attitudes toward female subtypes as a function of ambivalent sexism, participants were assigned to ambivalent sexist (i.e., score > 3 on HS and BS subscales,  $n=43$ ) and nonsexist (i.e., score < 3 on HS and BS subscales,  $n=36$ ) subgroups. Only participants who scored high on both subscales or low on both subscales were included in this set of analyses. A chi-square test of independence indicated that men were more likely than women to be classified as ambivalent sexists,  $\chi^2(1, N=79)=5.07, p<.05$ . Thus, differences between ambivalent sexists and nonsexists are not independent of differences due to gender.

Table 9 provides the mean evaluation scores for each subtype separately for ambivalent and nonsexist participants. A 2 (ambivalent vs nonsexist) x 3 (female subtype) repeated-measures ANOVA confirmed that attitudes toward the three female subtypes differed for this subset of participants,  $F(2,150)=28.52, p<.001$ . As with the whole sample, 'sexually promiscuous women' were rated less favourably than 'typical feminists',  $t(76)=4.53, p<.001$ , and 'typical housewives',  $t(76)=7.07, p<.001$ , and 'typical feminists' were rated less favourably than 'typical housewives',  $t(76)=2.17, p<.05$ .

The main effect of sexism was also significant,  $F(1,75)=4.23, p<.05$ , indicating that in general, ambivalent sexists expressed more negative attitudes toward the female subtypes compared to nonsexists. The significant interaction between sexism and female

Table 9

Mean Attitude, Stereotype, Symbolic-belief, and Affective-response Scores as a Function of Sexism

Subtype	Sexism			
	Ambivalent (n=43)		Non (n=36)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
<u>Typical Feminists</u>				
Attitude	45.48	20.09	67.00	17.12
Stereotype	0.14	0.78	0.61	0.52
Symbolic beliefs	0.48	0.81	0.96	0.67
Affect	-0.19	0.78	0.46	0.62
<u>Typical Housewives</u>				
Attitude	62.62	20.34	61.71	20.47
Stereotype	0.49	0.74	0.54	0.70
Symbolic beliefs	0.57	0.80	0.42	0.91
Affect	0.39	0.73	0.39	0.75
<u>Sexually Promiscuous</u>				
Attitude	38.93	27.29	36.57	20.68
Stereotype	-0.38	0.84	-0.49	0.71
Symbolic beliefs	-0.41	0.95	-0.45	0.77
Affect	-0.23	0.84	-0.33	0.76

N.B. Possible range for attitude measure is 0 to 100. Possible range for predictor variables is -2 to +2.

subtype indicated that the size of the differences based on sexism varied across subtypes,  $F(2,150)=7.88$ ,  $p<.005$ . Post hoc comparisons revealed that ambivalent sexists expressed significantly more negative attitudes than nonsexists toward 'typical feminists',  $t(75)=5.00$ ,  $p<.001$ , but the two groups did not differ in their evaluations of 'typical housewives' or 'sexually promiscuous women'.

Typical Feminists. To investigate the possibility of differences in the stereotype, symbolic-belief, and affective- response scores associated with 'typical feminists', a 2 (ambivalent vs nonsexist) x 3 (stereotype, symbolic belief, affective response) repeated-measures ANOVA was performed. A significant main effect of sexism indicated that ambivalent sexists were generally more negative than nonsexists,  $F(1,75)=15.08$ ,  $p<.001$  (Table 9). The main effect testing differences among stereotype, symbolic-belief, and affective-response scores was also significant,  $F(2,150)=34.55$ ,  $p<.001$ . As with the whole sample, affective-response scores were significantly more negative than stereotype scores,  $t(77)=3.70$ ,  $p<.001$ , and symbolic-belief scores,  $t(76)=7.50$ ,  $p<.001$ , and stereotype scores were more negative than symbolic beliefs,  $t(76)=5.27$ ,  $p<.001$ . The two-way interaction was not significant.

Typical Housewives and Sexually Promiscuous Women. Separate repeated-measures ANOVA's were performed for 'typical housewives' and 'sexually promiscuous women', using the sexism factor as a between-subjects variable and scores on the stereotype, symbolic-belief, and affect measures as a within-subjects factor. Neither analysis yielded significant results.

## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSION

Despite the plethora of research on gender-related attitudes, few studies attempt to clearly evaluate theory. It is becoming increasingly evident, however, that attitudes toward women are particularly complex, leading some researchers to advance theoretical frameworks for understanding this complexity (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 1996; Glick & Fiske, 1997). Glick and Fiske's (1996) theory of ambivalent sexism maintains that sexist attitudes do not represent a uniform antipathy toward women as traditionally suggested. Aspects of both hostility and 'benevolence' toward women may inform an individual's attitude. In addition to general orientations, such as hostility or benevolence, more specific factors such as stereotypes, emotions, and values may contribute to attitudes. Moreover, when considering attitudes toward specific 'types' of women, the relevance of these factors may differ as a function of the group being considered.

#### Attitudes Toward Women

Although some research has suggested that women as a general category are evaluated quite favourably (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Eagly et al., 1991), considerable variation in the favourability of attitudes toward specific subtypes of women has also been documented (Glick et al., 1996; Haddock & Zanna, 1994; Swim & Cohen, 1997). Attempts to tap attitudes toward women in general may represent a focus that is too broad, missing the information that could be available through the assessment of attitudes toward particular subtypes of women (Glick & Fiske, 1997). The results of the present study revealed that evaluations of specific female subtypes differed in their favourability,

providing support for the contention that attitudes toward women are, at least at a general level, complex and conflicted. Indeed, attitudes toward some women are quite positive, whereas others are viewed in a more negative light.

Consistent with previous research (Haddock & Zanna, 1994), women who are perceived as challenging traditional gender roles (i.e., feminists, sexually promiscuous women) were evaluated less favourably than women who conform to such roles (i.e., housewives). The conflicted nature of attitudes toward women is reflected in the tendency for certain women to be revered while others are viewed with disdain. Indeed, the feelings of inconsistency typically experienced as a result of ambivalence may be reconciled by dividing women into favoured and disliked subtypes (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 1996; Glick & Fiske, 1997). It is interesting to note, then, that 'housewives' and 'sexually promiscuous women' received the most and the least favourable evaluations, respectively, reflecting the tendency for individuals to place certain women on a 'pedestal' and others in the 'gutter' (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick & Fiske, 1997). The most positive attitudes are reserved for women who conform to traditional gender roles.

#### Gender Differences in Attitudes

Virtually all investigations of gender-related attitudes report differences between the responses of men and women (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Bilder, 1995; Campbell, Schellenberg, & Senn, 1997; Del Boca, Ashmore, & McManus, 1986), and this finding was replicated in the present investigation. Although the overall ranking of evaluations was consistent between men and women, (i.e., attitudes toward 'housewives' most favourable, attitudes toward 'sexually promiscuous women' least favourable), attitudes

toward 'feminists' were more negative among men, whereas attitudes toward 'sexually promiscuous women' were more negative among women. In both cases, gender differences in overall evaluations likely reflect motivational underpinnings consistent with the theory of ambivalent sexism.

Women consistently demonstrate more support than men for issues concerning gender equality (Campbell et al., 1997; McHugh & Frieze, 1997; Twenge, 1997). Indeed, the primary goal of the feminist movement is to enhance the status of women. Given the association between the term 'feminist' and attempts to achieve gender equality, it is not surprising that the women in our sample rated this subtype more favourably compared to the men. Because men are typically the beneficiaries of current social structures based on gender, it was anticipated that males would exhibit less favourable attitudes toward 'feminists'. According to Fiske and Glick (1995), feminists pose a significant threat to men's motivations in terms of competitive gender differentiation and paternalistic domination because this subtype is the most likely to jeopardize stark gender boundaries and to challenge the paternalistic notion of women's dependence on men.

The relatively positive evaluations of 'sexually promiscuous women' provided by male participants may also be explained in motivational terms. In our primarily heterosexual sample, men's sexual motivations toward women may have resulted in relatively positive evaluations of women who are perceived as a means to achieve goals of sexual activity. Men are more likely than women to demonstrate support for issues concerning casual sex with females (Ashmore et al., 1995).

### The Role of Stereotypes, Emotions, and Symbolic Beliefs

Although the degree of favourability assigned to particular categories of women is informative, it provides a relatively limited account of attitudes toward women.

Researchers who are interested in the structure of attitudes (Esses et al., 1993; Haddock et al., 1993; Haddock & Zanna, 1994) examine which sources of information individuals use when evaluating a group. Stereotypes have long been considered one of the primary sources of attitudes toward women (Haddock & Zanna, 1994; Glick & Fiske, 1997).

Nonetheless, attitudes may also be associated with emotions experienced in relation to women and beliefs about how women facilitate or block important social goals.

Moreover, evaluations of particular female subtypes may be based on one, all, or some combination of these factors.

In the present study, stereotypes, emotions, and symbolic beliefs were all positively correlated with evaluations of the female subtypes. As overall evaluations improved, so did stereotypes, emotions, and symbolic beliefs. When examined jointly, however, the scores made a differential contribution to the explanation of attitudes depending on the subtype being evaluated. Whereas the stereotypes participants ascribed to 'sexually promiscuous women' were the only significant predictor of their attitudes, both stereotypes and symbolic beliefs predicted evaluations of 'housewives'. Stereotypes, symbolic beliefs, and emotions were each uniquely predictive of attitudes toward 'feminists'. Taken together, these results suggest that attitudes toward specific subtypes of women are based upon different sources of information and differ in complexity. As women's roles in society become more complex, attitudes toward women appear to

become more complex in a corresponding manner.

Consistent with traditional notions of gender-related attitudes, stereotypes were useful in explaining participants' attitudes toward all three female subtypes. Clearly, stereotypes about women continue to inform individuals' attitudes. The association between stereotypes and attitudes was most relevant in the case of attitudes toward 'sexually promiscuous women'; whereas stereotypes made a unique contribution in predicting attitudes, emotions and symbolic beliefs did not. The finding that attitudes toward this subtype are largely unidimensional is not surprising. The oldest female stereotype (i.e., the "Eve" stereotype) is strongly associated with negative images of unrestricted female sexuality. Participants typically described 'sexually promiscuous women' as 'cheap', 'disgusting', and 'dirty'. Indeed, Deaux (1995) suggests that stereotypes about women who violate social prescriptions for sexual behaviour are widespread and almost uniformly negative.

Attitudes toward 'housewives' were found to be somewhat more complex. Beliefs about the ability of 'housewives' to promote cherished values and customs were associated with evaluations of this subtype above and beyond the association with stereotypes. Participants thought that 'housewives' promoted family values, including the 'proper' raising of children. Moreover, the 'housewife' subtype was frequently ascribed characteristics connoting admiration (e.g., 'hardworking', 'loving', and 'nurturant').

Attitudes toward 'feminists' were the most complex of any of the three subtypes. More factors were required to explain these attitudes than were necessary to account for attitudes toward 'housewives' and 'sexually promiscuous women'. The multidimensional



quality of attitudes toward 'feminists' may reflect the variety of possible roles associated with this subtype. Whereas 'sexually promiscuous women' are viewed primarily in terms of sexual behaviour and 'housewives' are associated with roles restricted to the home and the family, the 'feminist' subtype may be associated with a variety of roles. Indeed, the demands of the feminist movement are often directed at delimiting women's (and men's) roles and challenging societal prescriptions for "gender-appropriate" behaviour.

Differences in the tone of participants' written responses to 'feminists' further demonstrate the complexity of attitudes toward this group and highlight the dynamics of participants' attitudes. Attitudes toward 'feminists' appeared to follow a pattern that most clearly reflects an ambivalence stemming from conflicted thoughts and emotions. For example, symbolic beliefs about 'feminists' were significantly more positive than both the stereotypes and the emotions associated with this subtype. Whereas most of our participants credited 'feminists' with promoting positive values associated with social equality, the stereotypes and emotions reported in relation to this subtype were significantly less positive in tone.

Although 'feminists' were perceived to promote values of equality, they were simultaneously characterized as 'pushy' and 'aggressive'. Emotional responses stood out as being the most negative component of respondents' attitudes toward 'feminists', particularly among men. For example, it was not uncommon for participants to report negative emotions such as 'angry', 'accused', and 'annoyed' when asked to indicate how 'feminists' make them feel. Interestingly, 'feminists' were frequently deemed to both promote equality *and* to hinder equality between men and women. Several respondents

implied that feminists are 'going too far' in attempts to achieve gender equality, and that they are actually seeking to obtain a privileged position for women.

### Ambivalent Sexism

Of particular interest to the present study was the association between ambivalent sexist attitudes and attitudes toward the female subtypes. Consistent with previous research (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 1996), male participants scored higher than women on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. Ambivalent sexism was also especially relevant to attitudes toward 'feminists', a finding that is in line with the interpretation that such attitudes are particularly conflicted and ambivalent. Compared to nonsexists, ambivalent sexists were more negative on all measures associated with 'feminists'. Although most of this association seems to be accounted for by hostile sexism, benevolent sexism was associated with ascribing negative stereotypes to 'feminists'.

According to Glick and Fiske (1997), some aspects of hostile sexism are "couched in terms of a backlash against women who want 'too much' power (especially feminists) and in the belief that women cannot succeed in men's roles unless given preferential treatment" (p.125). Examination of the ASI items (Appendix A) reveals a focus on the existence of a power struggle between men and women in private and public spheres (Glick & Fiske, 1997). The 'feminist' subtype most clearly represents a power struggle between men and women. The association between attitudes toward 'feminists' and ambivalent sexism can be explained by the fact that both hostile and benevolent attitudes serve to justify the status quo. Because 'feminists' challenge patriarchy and traditional gender roles, they are viewed negatively by ambivalent sexists.

With the exception of a positive correlation between hostile sexism and symbolic beliefs about 'sexually promiscuous women', the present study found no associations between ambivalent sexism and attitudes toward 'housewives' or 'sexually promiscuous women'. If, as previously suggested, the scale taps issues related to a power struggle between men and women, perhaps only 'feminists' are perceived to represent a significant threat to traditional gender arrangements. The housewife stereotype is clearly not a threat. Although 'sexually promiscuous women' should be viewed negatively by those with benevolent sexist motives, they do not represent a threat to the power of those high in hostile sexism. Indeed, the positive correlation between symbolic beliefs and hostile sexism indicates that 'sexually promiscuous women' may actually be seen as serving the interests of hostile sexists, who tend to view women as sexual objects.

### Conclusion

The results of the present study support the notion that, in general, attitudes toward women are often complex and conflicted (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Moreover, attitudes toward specific subtypes of women differ in complexity, with 'feminists' eliciting the most complex responses. Given the current social pressures to adopt an egalitarian perspective, few people are willing to overtly oppose the notion of gender equality (Swim et al., 1995; Tougas et al., 1995). Indeed, our participants appeared to favour (at least in principle) feminists' struggle for equality. At the same time, however, they were somewhat uncomfortable with the ways in which they believe this struggle is realized. More specifically, it appears as though our respondents, while in favour of equality, were not in favour of the 'agents' who are associated with the struggle for equality.

Attitudes toward 'feminists' may have implications for many women, whether or not they label themselves as 'feminists' (Swim & Cohen, 1997). For example, those who point out instances of gender inequality may be looked upon unfavourably, which can be a powerful deterrent to expressing feminist sentiments. According to Faludi (1991), contemporary responses to feminism are manifested in "a sneering 'hip' cynicism toward those who dare point out discrimination or anti-female messages" (p.72). Although the behavioural manifestations of negative attitudes toward feminists are not entirely clear, such attitudes are likely to result in apathetic responses to feminist demands. Moreover, they are likely to silence the voices of individual women.

The present study provides support for the continued application of the theory of ambivalent sexism to research on gender-related attitudes. Because the theory emphasizes issues surrounding social power, gender identity, and sexuality, it provides an excellent framework for viewing gender-based prejudice as a multidimensional construct. Application of the theory to attitudes toward women may allow us to develop a more complete understanding of the complexity of gender-related attitudes.

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### Appendix A: Measures

Please place an **X** beside a number between 0 and 100 to indicate your overall evaluation of:

Typical Feminists		
Positive	100	Extremely favourable
		-
	90	Very favourable
		-
	80	Quite favourable
		-
	70	Fairly favourable
		-
	60	Slightly favourable
		-
	50	Neither favourable nor unfavourable
		-
	40	Slightly unfavourable
		-
	30	Fairly unfavourable
		-
	20	Quite unfavourable
		-
	10	Very unfavourable
		-
Negative	0	Extremely unfavourable

We are interested in the characteristics that people use in describing members of various social groups. **Your task is to provide a description of typical members of the group.** Your description should consist of a list of characteristics or, if necessary, short phrases which YOU would use to describe typical members of the group (e.g., "they are cheap", "they are intelligent"). Provide as many characteristics or short phrases as you think necessary to convey your impressions of each group and to describe each group adequately. Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

FEMINISTS ARE:

	Favourableness	(%)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Please go back to the top of this page and look at each of the characteristics that you have provided. Decide for each characteristic whether it is favourable, unfavourable, or neutral as you have used it to describe the group. Indicate the degree of favourableness of each characteristic as follows:

- 1) If the characteristic is positive, write a (+) beside it. If it is very positive write two pluses (++) beside it.
- 2) If the characteristic is neutral, write a zero (0) beside it.
- 3) If the characteristic is negative, write a minus (-) beside it. If it is very negative, write two minuses (--) beside it.

Give your immediate first impression. Don't spend too much time on any one characteristic.

Please go back to the top of this page once again and look at the characteristics that you have provided. Decide the percentage of typical group members who possess each characteristic (0 to 100%). Write a percentage next to each separate characteristic.

We are interested in examining how members of various groups make you feel, that is the emotions you experience when you see, meet, or even think about typical members of that group. **Your task is to provide a list of the feelings you experience (e.g., proud, angry, disgusted, happy) when you think about typical members of that group.** Provide as many feelings or emotions you believe are necessary to accurately convey your impression of each group and to describe them adequately. Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

FEMINISTS MAKE ME FEEL:

	Favourableness	(%)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Please go back to the top of this page and look at each of the feelings or emotions that you have provided. Decide for each feeling or emotion whether it is favourable, unfavourable or neutral, as you have experienced it in reference to the group. Indicate the degree of favourableness of each feeling or emotion as follows:

- 1) If the emotion is positive, write a (+) beside it. If it is very positive, write two pluses (++) beside it.
- 2) If the emotion is neutral, write a zero (0) beside it.
- 3) If the emotion is negative, write a minus (-) beside it. If it is very negative, write two minuses (--) beside it.

Give your immediate first impression. Don't spend too much time on any one emotion.

Please go back to the top of this page once again and look at the emotions or feelings that you have provided. Decide the percentage of typical group members who make you feel this way (0 to 100%). Write a percentage next to each separate emotion.

We are interested in looking at the extent to which you believe that particular groups promote or hinder the attainment of values, customs, or traditions that you cherish.

**Indicate the values (e.g., freedom, a world of peace, a world of beauty), customs, and traditions (e.g., the Canadian work ethic, respect for law and order, multiculturalism) whose attainment is either promoted or hindered by typical members of that group.** Provide as many values, customs, or traditions that you feel are necessary to convey your impression of the group and to describe them adequately.

Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

**FEMINISTS PROMOTE OR HINDER THE ATTAINMENT OF:**

	Favourableness	(%)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Please go back to the beginning of this page and look at each of the values, customs, or traditions that you have provided. Decide for each statement whether its attainment is promoted or hindered by the group. Indicate the extent to which the value, custom, or tradition is promoted or hindered as follows:

1) If the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is generally promoted by the group, write a (+) beside it. If it is almost always promoted by that group, write two pluses (++) beside it.

2) If the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is neither promoted nor hindered by the group, write a (0) beside it.

3) If the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is generally hindered by the group, write a minus (-) beside it. If it is almost always hindered by that group, write two minuses (--) beside it.

Give your immediate first impression. Don't spend too much time on any one statement.

Please go back to the beginning of this page once again and look at the values, customs, or traditions that you have provided. For those values, customs, or traditions whose attainment is facilitated (i.e. those statements marked with a "+" or "++"), decide the percentage of typical group members who facilitate its attainment (0 to 100%). For those values, customs, or traditions whose attainment is blocked (i.e. those statements marked with a "-" or "--"), decide the percentage of typical group members who block its attainment (0 to 100%). For those statements marked with a "0", decide the percentage of group members who neither facilitate or block their attainment (0 to 100%). Then write a percentage next to each separate phrase.

Please place an **X** beside a number between 0 and 100 to indicate your overall evaluation of:

Typical Housewives		
Positive	100	Extremely favourable
		-
	90	Very favourable
		-
	80	Quite favourable
		-
	70	Fairly favourable
		-
	60	Slightly favourable
		-
	50	Neither favourable nor unfavourable
		-
	40	Slightly unfavourable
		-
	30	Fairly unfavourable
		-
	20	Quite unfavourable
		-
	10	Very unfavourable
		-
Negative	0	Extremely unfavourable

We are interested in the characteristics that people use in describing members of various social groups. **Your task is to provide a description of typical members of the group.** Your description should consist of a list of characteristics or, if necessary, short phrases which YOU would use to describe typical members of the group (e.g., "they are cheap", "they are intelligent"). Provide as many characteristics or short phrases as you think necessary to convey your impressions of each group and to describe each group adequately. Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

HOUSEWIVES ARE:

	Favourableness	(%)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Please go back to the top of this page and look at each of the characteristics that you have provided. Decide for each characteristic whether it is favourable, unfavourable, or neutral as you have used it to describe the group. Indicate the degree of favourableness of each characteristic as follows:

- 1) If the characteristic is positive, write a (+) beside it. If it is very positive write two pluses (++) beside it.
- 2) If the characteristic is neutral, write a zero (0) beside it.
- 3) If the characteristic is negative, write a minus (-) beside it. If it is very negative, write two minuses (--) beside it.

Give your immediate first impression. Don't spend too much time on any one characteristic.

Please go back to the top of this page once again and look at the characteristics that you have provided. Decide the percentage of typical group members who possess each characteristic (0 to 100%). Write a percentage next to each separate characteristic.



We are interested in examining how members of various groups make you feel, that is the emotions you experience when you see, meet, or even think about typical members of that group. **Your task is to provide a list of the feelings you experience (e.g., proud, angry, disgusted, happy) when you think about typical members of that group.** Provide as many feelings or emotions you believe are necessary to accurately convey your impression of each group and to describe them adequately. Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

HOUSEWIVES MAKE ME FEEL:

	Favourableness	(%)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Please go back to the top of this page and look at each of the feelings or emotions that you have provided. Decide for each feeling or emotion whether it is favourable, unfavourable or neutral, as you have experienced it in reference to the group. Indicate the degree of favourableness of each feeling or emotion as follows:

- 1) If the emotion is positive, write a (+) beside it. If it is very positive, write two pluses (++) beside it.
- 2) If the emotion is neutral, write a zero (0) beside it.
- 3) If the emotion is negative, write a minus (-) beside it. If it is very negative, write two minuses (--) beside it.

Give your immediate first impression. Don't spend too much time on any one emotion.

Please go back to the top of this page once again and look at the emotions or feelings that you have provided. Decide the percentage of typical group members who make you feel this way (0 to 100%). Write a percentage next to each separate emotion.

We are interested in looking at the extent to which you believe that particular groups promote or hinder the attainment of values, customs, or traditions that you cherish.

**Indicate the values (e.g., freedom, a world of peace, a world of beauty), customs, and traditions (e.g., the Canadian work ethic, respect for law and order, multiculturalism) whose attainment is either promoted or hindered by typical members of that group.** Provide as many values, customs, or traditions that you feel are necessary to convey your impression of the group and to describe them adequately.

Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

**HOUSEWIVES PROMOTE OR HINDER THE ATTAINMENT OF:**

	Favourableness	(%)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Please go back to the beginning of this page and look at each of the values, customs, or traditions that you have provided. Decide for each statement whether its attainment is promoted or hindered by the group. Indicate the extent to which the value, custom, or tradition is promoted or hindered as follows:

1) If the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is generally promoted by the group, write a (+) beside it. If it is almost always promoted by that group, write two pluses (++) beside it.

2) If the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is neither promoted nor hindered by the group, write a (0) beside it.

3) If the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is generally hindered by the group, write a minus (-) beside it. If it is almost always hindered by that group, write two minuses (--) beside it.

Give your immediate first impression. Don't spend too much time on any one statement.

Please go back to the beginning of this page once again and look at the values, customs, or traditions that you have provided. For those values, customs, or traditions whose attainment is facilitated (i.e. those statements marked with a "+" or "++"), decide the percentage of typical group members who facilitate its attainment (0 to 100%). For those values, customs, or traditions whose attainment is blocked (i.e. those statements marked with a "-" or "--"), decide the percentage of typical group members who block its attainment (0 to 100%). For those statements marked with a "0", decide the percentage of group members who neither facilitate or block their attainment (0 to 100%). Then write a percentage next to each separate phrase.

Please place an **X** beside a number between 0 and 100 to indicate your overall evaluation of:

Sexually Promiscuous Women		
Positive	100	Extremely favourable
		-
	90	Very favourable
		-
	80	Quite favourable
		-
	70	Fairly favourable
		-
	60	Slightly favourable
		-
	50	Neither favourable nor unfavourable
		-
	40	Slightly unfavourable
		-
	30	Fairly unfavourable
		-
	20	Quite unfavourable
		-
	10	Very unfavourable
		-
Negative	0	Extremely unfavourable

We are interested in the characteristics that people use in describing members of various social groups. **Your task is to provide a description of typical members of the group.** Your description should consist of a list of characteristics or, if necessary, short phrases which YOU would use to describe typical members of the group (e.g., "they are cheap", "they are intelligent"). Provide as many characteristics or short phrases as you think necessary to convey your impressions of each group and to describe each group adequately. Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

**SEXUALLY PROMISCUOUS WOMEN ARE:**

	Favourableness	(%)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Please go back to the top of this page and look at each of the characteristics that you have provided. Decide for each characteristic whether it is favourable, unfavourable, or neutral as you have used it to describe the group. Indicate the degree of favourableness of each characteristic as follows:

- 1) If the characteristic is positive, write a (+) beside it. If it is very positive write two pluses (++) beside it.
- 2) If the characteristic is neutral, write a zero (0) beside it.
- 3) If the characteristic is negative, write a minus (-) beside it. If it is very negative, write two minuses (--) beside it.

Give your immediate first impression. Don't spend too much time on any one characteristic.

Please go back to the top of this page once again and look at the characteristics that you have provided. Decide the percentage of typical group members who possess each characteristic (0 to 100%). Write a percentage next to each separate characteristic.

We are interested in examining how members of various groups make you feel, that is the emotions you experience when you see, meet, or even think about typical members of that group. **Your task is to provide a list of the feelings you experience (e.g., proud, angry, disgusted, happy) when you think about typical members of that group.** Provide as many feelings or emotions you believe are necessary to accurately convey your impression of each group and to describe them adequately. Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

**SEXUALLY PROMISCUOUS WOMEN MAKE ME FEEL:**

	Favourableness	(%)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Please go back to the top of this page and look at each of the feelings or emotions that you have provided. Decide for each feeling or emotion whether it is favourable, unfavourable or neutral, as you have experienced it in reference to the group. Indicate the degree of favourableness of each feeling or emotion as follows:

- 1) If the emotion is positive, write a (+) beside it. If it is very positive, write two pluses (++) beside it.
- 2) If the emotion is neutral, write a zero (0) beside it.
- 3) If the emotion is negative, write a minus (-) beside it. If it is very negative, write two minuses (--) beside it.

Give your immediate first impression. Don't spend too much time on any one emotion.

Please go back to the top of this page once again and look at the emotions or feelings that you have provided. Decide the percentage of typical group members who make you feel this way (0 to 100%). Write a percentage next to each separate emotion.

We are interested in looking at the extent to which you believe that particular groups promote or hinder the attainment of values, customs, or traditions that you cherish.

**Indicate the values (e.g., freedom, a world of peace, a world of beauty), customs, and traditions (e.g., the Canadian work ethic, respect for law and order, multiculturalism) whose attainment is either promoted or hindered by typical members of that group.** Provide as many values, customs, or traditions that you feel are necessary to convey your impression of the group and to describe them adequately.

Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

**SEXUALLY PROMISCUOUS WOMEN PROMOTE OR HINDER THE ATTAINMENT OF:**

	Favourableness	(%)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Please go back to the beginning of this page and look at each of the values, customs, or traditions that you have provided. Decide for each statement whether its attainment is promoted or hindered by the group. Indicate the extent to which the value, custom, or tradition is promoted or hindered as follows:

1) If the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is generally promoted by the group, write a (+) beside it. If it is almost always promoted by that group, write two pluses (++) beside it.

2) If the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is neither promoted nor hindered by the group, write a (0) beside it.

3) If the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is generally hindered by the group, write a minus (-) beside it. If it is almost always hindered by that group, write two minuses (--) beside it.

Give your immediate first impression. Don't spend too much time on any one statement.

Please go back to the beginning of this page once again and look at the values, customs, or traditions that you have provided. For those values, customs, or traditions whose attainment is facilitated (i.e. those statements marked with a "+" or "++"), decide the percentage of typical group members who facilitate its attainment (0 to 100%). For those values, customs, or traditions whose attainment is blocked (i.e. those statements marked with a "-" or "--"), decide the percentage of typical group members who block its attainment (0 to 100%). For those statements marked with a "0", decide the percentage of group members who neither facilitate or block their attainment (0 to 100%). Then write a percentage next to each separate phrase.

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the extent of your agreement with each statement using the following scale: 1= disagree strongly; 2= disagree somewhat; 3= disagree slightly; 4= agree slightly; 5= agree somewhat; 6= agree strongly.

	STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	
No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Many women are actually seeking special favours, such as hiring policies that favour them over men, under the guise of asking for 'equality'.	1	2	3	4	5	6
In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Women are too easily offended.	1	2	3	4	5	6
People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Women should be cherished and protected by men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	1	2	3	4	5	6

**STRONGLY  
DISAGREE**

**STRONGLY  
AGREE**

Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Men are complete without women.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Women exaggerate problems they have at work.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.	1	2	3	4	5	6
When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	1	2	3	4	5	6
A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.	1	2	3	4	5	6
There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	1	2	3	4	5	6



Please read each of the following statements carefully and place an **X** beside TRUE or FALSE as it applies to you.

	TRUE	FALSE
It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.		
I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.		
On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.		
There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.		
No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.		
There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.		
I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.		
I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.		
I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.		
I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.		
There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.		
I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favours of me.		
I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.		

### Participant Information

Completion of this form is strictly voluntary. The information obtained in this form is completely confidential.

Age \_\_\_\_

Sex F \_\_\_\_ M \_\_\_\_

Race/Ethnicity \_\_\_\_\_

How frequently do you attend religious services?

Never \_\_\_\_

Once or twice a year \_\_\_\_

Monthly \_\_\_\_

Weekly or more often \_\_\_\_

How would you classify your political viewpoint?

Very liberal \_\_\_\_

liberal \_\_\_\_

conservative \_\_\_\_

Very conservative \_\_\_\_

How would you classify your sexual orientation?

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Gay/Lesbian

Bisexual

Heterosexual

## Appendix B: Consent Form

### Consent Form

The purpose of this study is to examine perceptions of a variety of social groups. The research is being conducted by Bernadette Campbell under the supervision of Dr. Glenn Schellenberg. You will be asked to complete several brief surveys which will take approximately 40 minutes. These questionnaires include a brief demographic information form and other surveys regarding personal attitudes and experiences, such as your experiences with members of particular social groups. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You will be given one experimental credit as compensation for your participation. At any time during this session you may withdraw from the study and/or refuse to answer any questions. If you choose to participate, please sign the consent form and retain the top portion for yourself. To protect your anonymity, the completed consent forms will be collected separately from the survey materials. Please do not write your name anywhere on the survey materials. The information gathered in this study will remain strictly confidential.

If you are interested in the results of this research, you may contact Bernadette Campbell through the Psychology Department at the University of Windsor. This research project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Windsor's Psychology Department Ethics Committee. Any ethical concerns regarding this research should be directed to the Ethics Committee Chair, Dr. Sylvia Voelker at 253-4232 ext. 2249. Other questions may be addressed to Bernadette Campbell through the Psychology Department at the University of Windsor.

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I have read and understand the above information, and agree to participate in this research.

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Date

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Signature

## Appendix C: Debriefing Information

### Debriefing

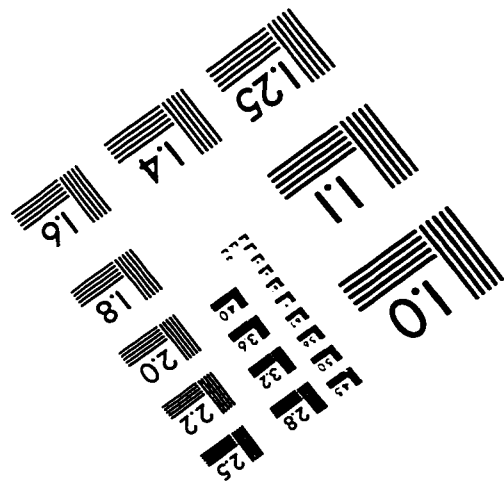
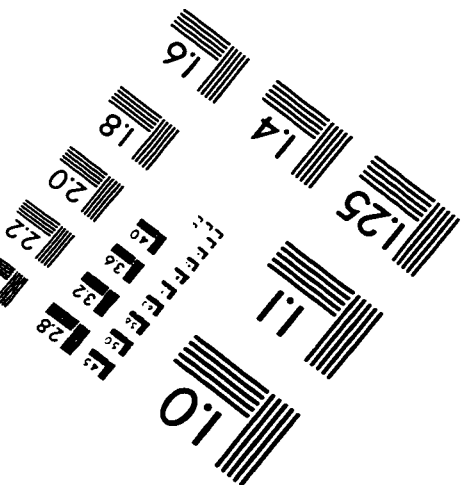
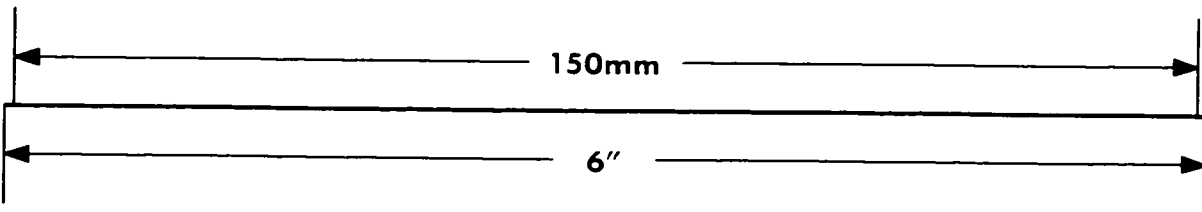
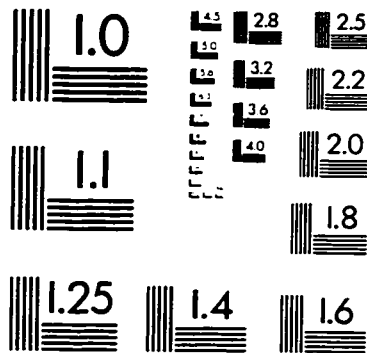
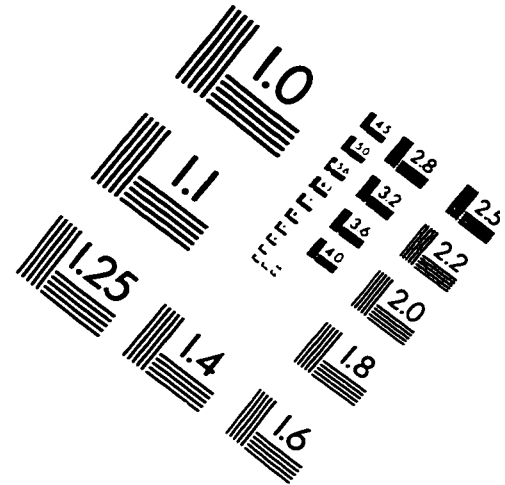
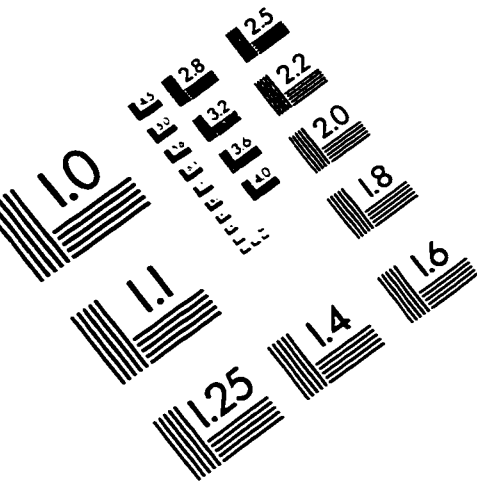
One purpose of the present study was to examine the structure of attitudes toward women. We were interested in looking at how stereotypes, emotions, and values influence attitudes toward women. A second purpose of this study was to compare the attitudes of sexist and non-sexist individuals.

Although sexism is commonly associated with negative attitudes toward and discrimination against women, behaviours that may appear positive can also be considered sexist. Consider, for example, a man's comment to a female coworker on how "cute" she looks. Despite his intentions, she may experience the comment as condescending, and wonder whether she is really being taken seriously as a professional. The effects of this type of sexism can be just as harmful as more hostile forms of sexism. It is important to consider how our comments and behaviours will be experienced by those on the receiving end.

### VITA AUCTORIS

Bernadette Campbell was born on December 1, 1970 in Sudbury, Ontario. She graduated from Mount St. Joseph College in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario in 1989. She received her honours B. A. in 1993 from the University of Windsor. In 1995 she began graduate studies in the applied social psychology program at the University of Windsor, and will graduate with a Master's degree in Fall 1997.

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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